

The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF ALBION.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, March 2, Year 4 of
the glorious Spanish Revolution.

THE guns seem *really* to be loaded with shot for the much talked of war between Monarchy and Republicanism on the Continent. We have not heard of any actual exchange of shots as yet, but I apprehend the season has been the chief obstacle or cause of delay, and I have been silent upon the matter, because I do not like much talking about probabilities. I endeavour to form my opinions, as to events, upon the *force of principles*, compared with the state of knowledge in those minds on which they are operating. If war actually begins, I shall consider it the result of a conviction on the side of monarchy, that the time has arrived to make the last struggle. The firing of the first gun that is recorded on paper, between any thing like French and Spanish armies, will convey to my frame an electrical shock: but not a shock of despair. I shall feel that every day is big with events of greater magnitude than any which Europe has yet witnessed.

The French aristocrats are all alive to the matter, and eager for the fray: but a French aristocrat was never yet the animal that could calculate on consequences. A mixture of the character of the tiger and the monkey is an established, a generally admitted correct emblem of a French aristocrat.

There must be Republicans in France among the million. It is impossible that such revolutions as the Government of France has gone through within the last forty years, could have occurred without enlightening the mass of the people. If there were a revolt in the French army in Spain, or with the people of France at home, the war must become general throughout Europe. No sound of peace will be heard, whilst there be a *continental* monarch in power.

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This is the view I take of the matter. I cannot think, nor harbour the thought, that the Spaniards will give up the struggle as the Italians did two years ago.

Looking at the past characters and conduct of the existing ministers in this country, I cannot but conclude that they wish for an excuse to take part with France, and to do the Spaniards every possible injury.

What I would prefer, as to their conduct, should be that species of neutrality on the part of the Government, which should leave individuals to do as they pleased in the matter. If the People of this Island, if the *Republicans* of this Island, (for none but Republicans will interfere to offer Spain real assistance) be confined to such assistance as the Government thinks proper, then Spain had better say to us: **STAND ASIDE AND LOOK ON. DO NOT OBSTRUCT US WITH YOUR PROFESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP.**

Already it is said, that our ministers are trying to detach Portugal from the cause of Spain *and herself*. If they have done this, or if they do this; far better would it be to send the Holy Ghost's Duke an army of twenty thousand men at once, to support the cause of monarchy.

I learn that all kinds of scheme and manœuvres are carrying on by our Whigs, to obtain a promise of modification in their Constitution from the Spaniards, and to corrupt it to the standard of our Government at home. I fear these enemies of Spain and Liberty, more than twenty such armies as the Duke of Angoulême can lead across the Pyrennees. Under the mask of friendship, the seducer always acts. The Spaniards have no real friends in England among the class of aristocrats: of which the Whigs are as foul, as corrupt, and as full of hatred towards genuine liberty, and really free constitutions, as the most ultra, the most violent of the Tories.

Republicans of Albion, I shall endeavour to write the history of the approaching war as it passes. I shall devote this publication almost solely to that object, and put aside all less important matters.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, Feb. 3, 1823.

THE great whole of matter and the properties it bestows on animal existences, particularly the animal *man*, give to the intelligent and philosophical mind ample scope for reflection. It raises the mind to an eminence in knowledge, to such a conscientiousness of rectitude, that all the dogmatical assertions of the Priests and the Fanatics are applied in vain to throw it down. When the mind is placed on this strong rock of reason and truth, it is folly in the advocates of delusion to attempt to oppose it, for by their opposition and even their persecution, it becomes more firmly seated, and the discussion excited probes and proves the value of the dogmas and assertions opposed.

The book, written by pretended inspiration, which Jews and Christians declare contains all that is necessary for the happiness of man, affords no studies for one who has read a few pages in the vast volume of nature. It was from the volume of nature that Paine gathered the knowledge that enabled him to refute the one of human invention. The Bible has been handed down to us as the true history of created matter, but where was the sense of philosophy and the science of astronomy with the ancient Jewish Writers, when they tell us of the windows of heaven being opened for the purpose of letting the waters descend to deluge the earth, as if heaven was a large house with the windows horizontal and opening downwards! it is the more astonishing that they should observe those windows, without noticing that the suns and planets were bodies of solid matter, which revolve, at regulated distances, and with a harmony of motion that nothing short of a self-existing power, in each, could regulate and render perpetual. Their ignorance on this head places their inspiration in a much lower scale than that of a school-boy of the present time.

It must have been this kind of ignorance of the laws of nature, that could influence many of our pretended great men, who once opposed the Christian religion, to recant from their former opinions and principles in their last moments, and desire the aid and deluding consolation of the priest, if such tales be true as are put forth. This weakness of mind has been preached up of Paine, by most of the Priests. They say he sought in illness what he refused in his health, and that he kept continually calling on Jesus for help and assistance, and shewed great contrition for having denied divine revelation.

In perusing a little volume which I send you, just published in London, as a pretended set-off against your publications, you will find an account of Paine's last moments, which I earnestly hope is unfounded, and a priestly plot to injure his fair fame. If not true,

I hope you will not fail to contradict and reprobate it, as such a falsehood deserves, in your widely circulated and valuable Republican.

Yours, most respectfully,

JAMES DREW, a confirmed Materialist.

OBSERVATIONS.

WHAT has been said of the latter end of Buckingham, Rochester and Newport, in the seventeenth century, is very likely all to be true, as they were notoriously immoral and infamous characters. Their conversions were not so much from Deism or Atheism to Christianity, as from immorality to a sense of the value of its opposite, morality. They grew ashamed and horrified at their own conduct when they began to feel that it had brought premature death upon them. But Hobbes, Hume, Paine and Voltaire, lived to a good age, and it is well known to those who were about them at the time or near approach of death, that they died conscious of a useful and well-spent life, without the slightest deviation from anti-superstitious opinions. Mr. Paine was a great sufferer long before he died; but this is not singular; the same thing happens to half the Christian fanatics that die: such I believe too was the case of Voltaire.

Paine and Voltaire dying among fanatics were concerned about the treatment of their body after it should be dead, and made something like an overture to the Christians to obtain what is called a Christian burial, or to be buried in some common burying ground. This I take to have been a mental weakness. I can contemplate my dead body with the same feelings as that of any other animal, or any other kind of putrid matter. The mind is the man, and at death, the mind is annihilated, as to all future productions, unless we except the impressions it leaves on other minds. With regard to the body, the sooner it is got rid of the better; and on this view, I highly approve the ancient mode of Greece and Rome, and the existing mode of India, in destroying the body on the funeral pile, as preferable to digging a grave for it; particularly, as the habit of disturbing graves is become so common. I wish the surgeons every necessary experience, and think that some public enactment should secure them sufficient subjects for dissection; still I

cannot but think that an accomplished anatomist may teach as much by delineations and explanations upon paper as over a real body.

Paine is charged with calling upon the name of Jesus Christ when in a state of agony, from the painful nature of his disease. This is very likely, but it argues nothing; an Irishman swears *by Jesus* when he is drunk, and a romping girl will call upon him when she is pressed and punished a little. It is a common expression among Christians on all occasions of pain and danger, and is used from example and habit more than from any idea at the time that Jesus can assist, or that he is wanted. When Paine was asked for an explanation, he gave it, and said he had no faith or belief in any such person, or upon any such a subject. Such were almost his last words, or quite so, for what we know. The Dr. Manley who attended him is still living in America, and testifies to all enquirers that Mr. Paine exhibited no change of opinions, no contrition for any one act in his life, on his death-bed.

Those persons who raised up lies about Mr. Paine, did the same about Mrs. Bonneville who accompanied him to America; but it has happened that Mrs. B. has lived to return to Europe: and she now exhibits the highest regard for the memory of Mr. Paine, and is perfectly free from fanaticism, though it has been stated publicly, though it has been printed even, that she cursed him for inducing her to forsake a religion to which, it is said he was glad to return! I can bear witness to this part of the falsehoods imposed upon the world, by letters from Mrs. Bonneville, the one I printed is quite enough.

I fear nothing from the circulation of such publications as that which is now before me: it is a pretended contrast of the deaths of Christians, or the manner of dying, with those of Deists. How do they live, is the question for consideration: how they die is nothing at all; there is an end to them then, Christian as well as Atheist. They are all alike when dead, as the atheistical part of the Bible, or the book of Ecclesiastes, well expresses.

I can read any thing myself, and I wish every person to do the same. The more I read, the more I am convinced, if it be possible to have my conviction strengthened, that nothing connected with Christianity is true, and that no kind of spiritualists can stand in argument before the Materialist or Atheist, or whatever you please to call him, for both designations are of the most philosophical, the most

honourable, the most noble kind. As a Materialist, man is worth contemplating as a distinguished animal; as a spiritualist, he is not.

R. CARLILE.

PAINE'S BIRTH DAY.

A NUMEROUS Meeting was held in Manchester on the 29th of January, to celebrate the birth-day of Thomas Paine. The following is a brief outline of the proceedings. William Campion on being called to the Chair addressed the company nearly as follows:—

Gentlemen, You have called upon me to fulfil the office of President of this assembly: should I fail to perform my duty to your satisfaction the blame rests with yourselves, for not electing one of more experience. The object of the present meeting is to celebrate the natal day of Thomas Paine, a man who has been an honour to his country and his species; a man who has used not only his intellectual faculties to promote the welfare and increase the happiness of his fellow creatures, but was one of the first to join the American army to assist the inhabitants of that country in their struggle for independence.

Citizens, I do not wish to intrude upon too much of your time, but there is a subject which ought to meet the calm and deliberate discussion of every man who is struggling for his birth-right: discussion alone being the means of decreasing the evil, I allude to the state of parties, the want of unanimity amongst the friends of Freedom throughout this island. It is a subject which in my opinion ought to meet the prompt attention of every political writer who pretends to advocate the cause of the people. Alas! little has been done for this last five-and-twenty years or more, than exhausting their resources in firing squibs and pop-guns at the immense battery of corruption. Nothing has been done solidly and philosophically as yet, nor do I think it ever will be while the principal object of politicians is to collect sufficient sentences to form a pamphlet or a newspaper without considering in the least whether it will be beneficial or inimical to those it is pretended to instruct. I do not speak in particular of any man, I speak of their general conduct, with the exception of a very few individuals, who form an honourable exception. I believe that had the question of Reform been discussed by patriots honest and undeviating in their conduct, we should not be harassed and imprisoned by the very men who are receiving immense salaries drained from a ruined, and, in many instances, a starving population. The people, taken as a whole, are aware of the monstrous corruption and injustice practised by the present system of Government, and are panting for an opportunity to uproot such tyranny; but how is it possible, while their leaders, their pretended instructors,

cannot agree amongst themselves upon the best means to accomplish so desirable an object? If every man was desirous of holding no principles but such as would bear the scrutiny of reason, parties would cease to exist. They would form a powerful and irresistible body directing their efforts to one common object, to oppose which would be as useless as to attempt to stem the billows of the ocean. Every political writer should lay down his ideas upon Government in the most plain and simple manner, so that they may instruct instead of perplexing those who have not the time and perhaps not the inclination to wade through the labyrinth of politics, in order to arrive at a just conclusion. Citizens, the man whose birth-day we are met to celebrate has laid down such principles of Government in the most concise and intelligible manner. He has written, I had almost said, all that was requisite to be written upon the principles and object of Government. He has shewn that Government was instituted for the good of the governed; that every generation of beings had the sole right to chuse their own governors? He has also shewn that if any part of a Government be hereditary, it is tyrannical and unjust, because wisdom and honesty cannot be hereditary likewise. These are a part of the principles maintained by Thomas Paine, but I refrain from speaking further upon them, knowing that those around me are better able to do justice to his character than I am; I shall therefore beg leave to propose:—

The Immortal Memory of Thomas Paine, the political Saviour of Mankind.

Song. by J. Wheeler "God save great Thomas Paine," &c.

After which Mr. Wheeler called the attention of the company to the works of the Immortal Paine, he contended, the principles he espoused were the only ones which would confer a lasting benefit upon the people, and that the only reason why he was not admired by a majority of the inhabitants of this island was because they had chimed in with the general prejudices of this age, without examining for themselves. It has been the general practice of the Reformers to avoid his name as much as they would that of the most resolute Tory. He deprecated the conduct of those who attended the York and other County Meetings, for not fearlessly advocating the principles of Paine. He considered it as delusion to draw a concourse of people together in order to petition a corrupt body to reform themselves. He believed with Paine, "That to reason with despots was throwing reason away, the best of arguments was a vigorous preparation for resistance."

Mr. Harper considered that much praise was due to Mr. Fawkes, and the other Gentlemen, who had called that Meeting: for although they had not advocated those principles which he, as well as Mr. Wheeler, considered as necessary to secure and protect from further encroachments, the political rights of every member of society, still they had exposed to the country the bare-faced corruptions of the state, they had shewn the enormous expence of kingcraft, the amount of

money squandered by the late King, which is an almost incredible sum. The amount in guineas laid side by side would reach four times round the orb we live upon. He contended that such an exposure would tend as much to establish in the minds of the people the economical principles of Republicanism, as if they had advocated the Rights of Man, as laid down by Paine. In conclusion, he urged that wherever an individual had come forward, as Mr. Fawkes had done, even if he did not come up to our principles, he was deserving of praise and support.

Mr. Jonathan Hodgins, in reply, contended that Mr. Wheeler had not said that such meetings did harm, but he would take upon himself to say they had; because they were directing the attention of the people to an object they could never accomplish. He considered it quite time to throw aside the mask of hypocrisy, and proceed to their object in an undisguised manner, to demand a redress of grievances, instead of continually praying, like the votaries of Jehovah, to suspend his wrath and cease to further oppress them. Mr. H. then proceeded to review the principles of Paine; how much he had been calumniated, and even those who attempted to confute him had fallen far short of their desired object? Bishop Watson was so well convinced of the fallibility of the Christian Religion, that in the midst of his defence of the Bible, he exclaims "Well had it been for the Christian world had Paine never been born, or being born he had never lived to accomplish his Age of Reason—because it is a book (says the Bishop) that will corrupt the middle class of society" the only class the Bishop seemed to care for, as the higher class are too indolent and the lower too much employed to feast at an intellectual banquet. He commented at considerable length on the theological works of Thomas Paine, and concluded by hoping that he would prove, as he had been toasted, the Saviour of Mankind.

To the Memory of Voltaire, Mirabaud, Palmer, Volney, and all those philanthropists who have written for the welfare and happiness of mankind.

Simon Bolivar, and Thomas Cochrane, and may the great bulwark of Republican principles which they have erected in South America, never be erased, but continue to be imitated by every nation upon the habitable globe.

The health of Richard Carlile, the undaunted promulgator of the works of Thomas Paine, the renovator of the people, and real adversary of the Priest.

Mr. Harper again addressed the assembly, in a very animated speech, upon the conduct of Mr. Carlile, and the base treatment he has received. He condemned in very strong terms the conduct of the "Chief Judge," in the case of W. Tunbridge who was pronounced Guilty without being heard in his defence. How long must Englishmen continue to be dragged to a human tribunal, and be compelled to linger for years in an unwholesome dungeon, merely for expressing their opinions upon subjects the most interest-

ing to mankind, and yet be told he inhabited a land of freedom? He hoped the day was not far distant when every Judge of the kind would be judged, the doors of the Bastile be burst asunder, and its captive restored to his much wished for liberty.

The health of all the Shopmen of R. Carlile, and may all those who shall be hereafter placed at the bar of fanatical fury, or human presumption, display the same heroic and undaunted spirit in defence of free discussion upon all subjects, as those have already done that have passed the fiery ordeal, where the hands of innocence are certain to be burnt.

Mr. Hodgins intimated to the company that there was a person in the room who was a volunteer for the Temple of Reason for whom he proposed a subscription should be entered into, to defray his travelling expences. Mr. Harper seconded the motion, which was immediately carried into effect, and the health of the individual drank by the company, after which W. Campion spoke as follows:

Fellow Townsmen, Were I to return thanks for the interest you have taken in my behalf, I should inadequately express my feelings upon the present occasion. The enthusiastic esteem you have displayed towards myself and the cause that I am embarked in can never be erased from my memory. To know that I leave with the good wishes of my Fellow Townsmen will enable me to bear with fortitude the utmost malice of a Judge or the impotence of a Jury. He then took a cursory view of the different sects of religionists that inhabit the various parts of the globe, how each sectarian believing that he alone is right is ever ready to persecute and even massacre his fellow creature in hopes of pleasing the idol he has created in his imagination. Vain and presumptuous man, should remember that he who is fancied to have created the universe has the same power to form the belief to mould us poor atoms to any shape, he, in his infinite wisdom may please to adopt. As for the earthly Judge let him depart from the exalted seat of justice which he blasted by his inhuman actions, hence, and let him no longer lend his weak arm to support omnipotence. I view the different sects in religion but as a complicated system of idolatry, of human not of divine origin, and as such, it must (if any system of devotion is necessary) receive the improvements of the age, like every branch of the arts and sciences. But rather than it should be the cause of further prosecution and bloodshed, may it be totally annihilated. Farewell Citizens! I leave you my Friends, my companions, not that I love you less, but that I love my country better.

Mr. Hough, stated, that it was many years since he had attended a meeting of any description; and had he not been a witness of the present, he could never have been persuaded that such a number as he then addressed, could have been found in one town to support, and even identify themselves, with the principles of Thomas Paine. He could remember the time when the effigy of Paine was dragged through the town in order to be burnt amidst the rejoicings of a

deluded multitude, as a proof of the superiority of their creed. He had also witnessed the barbarous treatment those persons had received who ventured to speak in the least favourable to liberty. Not only was their property liable to be destroyed by a church and king mob, but their lives were endangered whenever they were seen out of their habitation. The tyranny they upheld, and which Paine so completely exposed, has been felt by those who were his greatest enemies, but unwilling to acknowledge their errors, they are still pertinacious in their former opinions. However, he had witnessed such a surprising change in society that he could not despair of the ultimate establishment of our independence: when public servants shall listen to the voice of the people, the fountain of all power, instead of acting in contempt of their wishes and interests.

May the friends of Freedom throughout the Island of Albion be no longer known but as one consolidated mass of Republicans; and by their united efforts may they annihilate the monstrous impositions that have been practised upon the credulity of mankind.

May success attend the patriotic arms of the Spaniards, and teach Allied Despots the folly of imposing upon a nation a system of Government contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants.

The Rights of Man:—May every Englishmen understand and have courage to maintain them.

A number of patriotic songs were sung by different persons in the company, and the utmost harmony prevailed during the evening when each retired to his home apparently satisfied with his entertainments.

The following Letter was addressed to the Company through the medium of Mr. Wheeler.

CITIZEN,

Hyde, Jan. 28, 1823.

IT would be very unbecoming on my part not to return you my sincere thanks, for the kind invitation you have given me to join the Republicans of Manchester, in celebrating the birth-day of the immortal Thomas Paine. There are few things could give me a greater pleasure in their accomplishment, than the meeting, and spending an evening with the brave, the patriotic, and the enlightened Republicans of Manchester; and I assure you, that had I not considered it a paramount duty to stop and celebrate the same event among my own townsmen, I certainly should have attended your Meeting.

I cannot omit this opportunity of informing you, that I was amply compensated for my trouble in coming to your house on the 5th instant, independent of every other circumstance, when I heard it asserted by a gentleman who came in soon after I did, that he did not know one person in Manchester, who was an avowed Republican, and supporter of the principles of Mr. Carlile, that was a *Drunkard*. Although no observation fell from my lips at the time,

yet, from the respectable appearance of the Gentleman, and the general knowledge he seemed to have of the persons he spoke of, I had not the least doubt of the truth of what he said, and I must confess the intelligence made an impression on my mind, which will not be easily eradicated. But for the reason above stated, had I been distant three times the seven miles I am from you, I should have thought my journey a pleasure, rather than a toil, to have come to see so numerous an assembly of men as will be met together on that occasion, of whom such honourable testimony has been given, and that pleasure would have been still more heightened by the opportunity I should have had, of congratulating them on their noble, praiseworthy, and virtuous dispositions, and good conduct. I should not have been half so well pleased if I had been told that the number of Republicans and friends to free discussion in Manchester had been trebled within the last year.

It is well known that truth will carry conviction along with it to the enquiring mind, yet the progress of truth will always be much facilitated by the good conduct of its advocates. No system whatever that is dependent on its own intrinsic merits, will make any great progress against prejudice and corruption, unless the profession and practices of its friends and propagators, are consistent and conformable to the strict rules of morality. Do you suppose that Mr. Carlile's merely possessing the powers of mind he does, would have gained him the number of friends he has, if his private character had been conspicuous only for its profligacy, dissipation, and debauchery? The principles of which he is the advocate, the supporter, and the propagator, are of themselves sufficient to call into action the energy of every man who has any love for country, or veneration for those rights he is so unjustly deprived of by an oppressive system of government. But would those men who are now suffering imprisonment for serving Mr. Carlile have come forward, or would any man have made an offer of his services to assist him in publishing and disseminating these principles among mankind, and as it were, throw themselves voluntarily into prison, had they not been assured that their cause would ultimately triumph over all its enemies, while in the hands of a man, whose moral character is unimpeachable? For the last four or five years, the character of Mr. Carlile has been sufficiently public as a son, a husband, a father, a brother, and a master, as not to need any individual praise; and I believe he was equally exemplary as a servant, as the following extract of a letter will sufficiently testify. It was dated Hackney, Nov. 20, 1821, signed S. C. and published in the 16th volume of "The Monthly Repository of Theology," &c. After some observations on the sentences of the Carliles; he says, "My estimate of Mr. Carlile is founded in part on a circumstance which truth and justice require should be known. A day or two previous to his trial it came to my knowledge accidentally that the Tradesman with whom he had served his apprenticeship, and I believe worked for sometime afterwards, was a resident in my own

neighbourhood, and that he had spoken highly of his integrity, feeling the force of the precept, (do unto others as you would they should do unto you) I waited on this person in expectation that a good character might be of service to Mr. Carlile on his trial, and received the following account as near as I can recollect.

During the many years Carlile was with me, I found him an honest faithful servant; the hours of business were early and late, but he never failed in diligence and industry, and although we did not always agree, I never had the slightest reason to suspect him of a falsehood.

He attended the trial at my request, and his evidence was to the same effect. Of this man's religious opinions I am in total ignorance to this day, and of Carlile I had no other personal knowledge previous to his trial than once seeing him in his shop; but to this day I never heard of an attack upon his moral character, which certainly would not have escaped the virulence of his persecutors had it been vulnerable.

Christian, canst thou read this without blushing? can thou say more, nay, can thou say as much for any votary to thy creeds? shame! shame! on thee, and thy system; that can imprison a man of such moral worth for merely doing what thou dost; publishing his opinions.

On Sunday se'ennight there was a lecture delivered in the Calvinist Chapel in this village on the contrast between the Christian and the Deist. I attended the lecture, to hear what contrast a Christian priest would make. In a manner peculiar to the Christian priesthood on such occasions, did he pourtray the character of the most noted opponents to the Christian religion, who are now dead, and therefore could not contradict his assertions, but all who are alive escaped. Not the least personal allusion was made to Mr. Carlile, nor was there any breach of morality imputed to the Deists as a body. I did not think there was any thanks due to the lecturer for his forbearance, after the specimens he had given us of his Christian love for those he did notice; for, I believe he would not have hesitated one moment to have pointed out with the same charitable feelings, any defects in the moral character of his living opponents, as he did of those who are dead, had he not been under some apprehensions that his assertions might meet with flat contradictions.

Let us maintain the high ground on which we stand, and we shall not only be happy in ourselves, but we shall see our numbers increase not three but three hundred fold.

Yours, in civic esteem,

SAMUEL MERCER.

CELEBRATION OF PAINE'S BIRTH-DAY AT BÖLTÖN.

A NUMBER of Republicans met on the 29th of January, at the house of Mr. John Cargers, Bolton, for the purpose of celebrating the birth-day of the Immortal Thomas Paine. An excellent supper was provided on the occasion, and after the removal of the cloth, Mr. Edward Kennerdell was called to the chair, who briefly addressed the company, and concluded by proposing as a toast "The Immortal Memory of Thomas Paine, and may the sons of liberty ever cherish his name."

Mr. R. Leach then addressed the company for a considerable time. He drew a comparison between the past and the present times, as it regarded prosecution for matters of opinion. He concluded by saying, he had no doubt, but that, in a short time, error, fraud, and superstition, with all their deadly train, would be banished from the earth.

May Christians abandon slavery, though their founders had not the humanity to forbid it.

The universal liberty of the press; none need fear but those who are guilty.

Mr. R. Carlile, the upright and undaunted advocate of civil and religious liberty; may his example be successful and his sufferings be rewarded.

After this toast had been put from the Chair, Mr. John Cameron arose and addressed the Meeting at some length, on the impolicy as well as cruelty of incarcerating men and women, for denying the authenticity of the Jew Books: he reprobated, in strong terms, a class of persons whom he denominated "Locusts in Lawn sleeves." If, added he, "The Age of Reason", and "Palmer's Principles of Nature," be really blasphemous, why do not the parsons prove them to be so, and not call upon the limbs of the law to punish with fine and imprisonment. This, he contended was not the way to convince men of their errors, but was certain to have quite the contrary effect.

Mrs. Carlile, Miss Mary Ann Carlile, and Mrs. Wright.

The Immortal Memory of George Washington, and American Independence.

May revolutions never cease whilst tyranny exists.

Mr. Carlile's incarcerated Shopmen, and all those who have volunteered their services to keep open the Temple of Reason.

The Immortal Memory of Mirabeau, Voltaire, Volney, and Helvetius; may their writings become as universally read as the works of bigotry and superstition.

Mr. John Grimes now addressed the company in praise of Mr. Paine, and concluded a pretty long speech with several apt quotations from the writings of the ancient philosophers.

Simon Bolivar, Thomas Cochrane, commonly called Lord Cochrane, and the patriots of South America.

Mr. Drakard, editor of the Stamford News.

Towards the conclusion of the Meeting it was agreed to commemorate the Anniversary of American Independence, and a committee was appointed to arrange the proceedings.

At a late hour the company separated, highly gratified with the proceedings of the night.

CELEBRATION OF MR. PAINE'S BIRTH-DAY AT LEEDS.

THE Leeds Republicans met in a large room opposite the Wesleyan Chapel, Meadow Lane, where a good substantial dinner was provided for the occasion: after the cloth was removed, Mr. Tetley was called to the chair, and after a few appropriate observations expressive of his admiration of the principles laid down by that great man whose birth they had met to celebrate, concluded with giving—

1. The Immortal Memory of Thomas Paine (in silence)

Song—"In these disastrous dismal days," &c.

2. The Chairman next gave "The people the source of all power".

Mr. Kershaw Crowther's health having been drank, he addressed the company as follows:—

Gentlemen,

Having received a mark of your approbation, I shall endeavour to return the compliment, by making a few observations on the object of our meeting, and in doing this I shall first observe that it is not my intention to celebrate the dead, in order to gratify feelings which have ceased to exist. Secondly, it is not my design to hoist up the principles of Paine as the absolute standard of truth, because this would be a concession in favour of Deism, which I, as a Materialist, am by no means disposed to make; for in relation to Deism, I would just observe, that it teaches me nothing; it tells me indeed that a God exists, and when I enquire what this God is, the evasive reply is, "he is a spirit," but when I ask what is a spirit, the conscientious Deist, is under the necessity of confessing, that he believes in he knows not what, or in other words, that his God is nothing, or the absolute negation of all ideas. As my object is improvement, I cannot give my sanction to any "ism" whatsoever, that is not calculated to produce this effect, but Deism instead of illuminating the mind of man renders him superstitious, and prepares him for the reception of other absurdities: such for instance as the immortality of the soul. I shall now make a few observations on this subject, it appears to me then, that the dogma of immortality, is founded on the idea that man possesses something distinct from the body, whereas, the fact is

otherwise, as experience will abundantly prove, for the fœtus of the mind is evidently born with the material frame of man—is in a state of infancy with it—matures with it—and when we arrive at what is commonly designated second childhood, experience loudly declares that this pretended immortal soul has passed the zenith of its power—is now in a state bordering upon idiotism, and must shortly perish with a worn out body. But granting, for the sake of argument, that the soul is distinct from the body, both in its nature and origin, and of course, was united before birth or after: if before, why are not the distinct powers which it possesses displayed in infancy; is it because it cannot act but in unison with the body? Then it will certainly cease to think when the body ceases to breathe: but if the immaterial soul of a Priest cannot tell us when this wonderful union took place, perhaps it will be able to give us a description of the union itself; if not, I shall conclude that such an union was never effected. It is, generally contended, that, in a future state of existence the mind of man will be conscious of what has taken place in this; to which I reply, that since the soul of man has no knowledge whatever of that state of existence which it experienced before it entered the body, how is it possible that it should have any of this in another life? The fact is, it is impossible. What then becomes of the notion of an immortal soul? Experience proves it false, and reason spurns it from her presence. But though I have taken the liberty of making these remarks in opposition to the creed of Paine, yet I do not intend to say, that even Materialism itself is the absolute standard of truth, nevertheless I contend that these principles are more calculated to improve the human race, than any other with which we are acquainted. With regard to the political sentiments of Paine, I am bold enough to acknowledge that I admire them, and shall continue to support them, till I am convinced of their falsehood which (by the bye) circumstance, which I do not anticipate, for let me tell you that the “Rights of Man” contain force sufficient to bear down all opposition. Do you wish for a proof of this? Turn your eyes backward, take a view of the combined force with which they have had to contend. Behold the author dragged in effigy to the flames; see his disciples inhumanly treated; take a view of circumstances in which we are placed, and then ask yourself, what has produced the change: Is it a corrupt government? No! no! we are indebted to the strength of the principles which Paine, as a Republican advocated. Gentlemen, I shall now conclude by observing that it was not my intention to utter one word on the present occasion, I hope therefore that you will forgive the blunders, which a blundering man is only qualified to make.

3. May the principles of Thomas Paine dart into every soldier that crosses the Pyrennees.

Song—“Scots wha ha’ wi’ Wallace bled.

4. As it has been publicly intimated that George Canning was desired to walk in the footsteps of his predecessor; may he reverse the career of Castlereagh and begin with his last act first.

Mr. R. W. Byerley's health was next drank, after which he spoke to the following effect:—

Fellow Citizens, for the honour you have done me in drinking my health I return you my thanks. The celebration of the birth-day of the Immortal Thomas Paine whose exertions in the cause of liberty have not been equalled by any man, is the cause of our present meeting. To praise such a character would be absurd in the extreme, his writings give innumerable proofs that his memory needs no such feeble aid. In regard to the political truths laid down by Paine, I will venture to say they form a ground work for the only system of government worth your notice, and that his writings have been a text book for every *honest* political character that we have heard of since he wrote; I think there are few men but will allow him to be the ablest writer on Government that this or any other country has to boast of: if there should be any present that may not have read Paine's Political Works, I would earnestly recommend them to their notice, and to read for themselves what, in my opinion, will stand as a criterion in politics for ages to come.

In regard to the religious principles of Thomas Paine, I must say that I differ from him; although I think his *Age of Reason* as an exposition of the Bible a master piece; and as a proof of the real utility of such a work, we need only to glance at the persecution and prosecutions that have been heaped on the brave and honest men that have dared to publish it.

Kings and Priests, the common destroyers of our liberty, know well the important truths it contains, I will leave you to judge from the following fact: when Mr. Carlile's trial took place, the Autocrat of Russia forbid the admission of any English newspaper containing an account of it, and likewise prohibited the publishing of any thing of the kind in that country.

In saying that I differ from Thomas Paine in religious opinions, whilst I say I admire his "*Age of Reason*" may require some explanation. Mr. Paine was not free from superstition or something he called religion.

There is nothing, that I know of, that has produced more misery, and caused more blood to be shed, than the bugbear, religion, of any and of every kind. I think there is nothing on earth that gives a greater scope to hypocrisy and every kind of crime, than what is called religion; I firmly believe that until men have ceased to put any confidence in it, and in those that fatten on the spoils obtained by it, and unite to establish a system of morals that shall be distinct from religion and delusion of every kind, there never will exist that harmony and fellow feeling that is necessary for the peace of society.

As I view religion in all its varied forms, I consider them to be all founded in falsehood and supported by fraud, that it is nothing better than a scourge to mankind and ought to be swept from the face of the earth: Citizens, I shall conclude by proposing the health and speedy liberation of every incarcerated friend to Liberty, and the health of every fellow citizen that may be assembled to honour the birth-day of Thomas Paine.

Mr. Byerley then gave:—

5. The Memory of the brave but imprudent Thistlewood and his unfortunate companions, and may their betrayers and destroyers meet the reward of their delinquency in the detestation of every honest friend to mankind.

Song—The Standard of Freedom.

6. The downfall of every species of Idolatry.

7. Health and prosperity to the brave Thomas Davison who was lately liberated from “the bonds of Christian faith.”

8. May the agricultural “petitioners” be so pinched by the system that they cannot “petition at all.”

9. Mirabaud, Voltaire, Baron Holbach, Volney, Palmer, Boulanger, and all others who have either written or bled in the cause of freedom.

Mr. Smithson's health having been drank, he rose and said: Mr. President and Citizens, as every mark of esteem, ought to be a stimulus to fresh exertions, I shall only say in return for the honour you have done me, that I hope my conduct will always be such as to deserve a continuance of your approbation; and as I consider free discussion is the best antidote for erroneous opinions, I must bespeak your patience, while I make a few remarks on the present occasion. I need not detain you by making any attempt to eulogize the character of Thomas Paine, that “noble of nature” whose auspicious birth we are this day met to celebrate: for if I was competent to the task, it would be useless to all who have read his writings; as they are his best eulogy and the best means by which any man can obtain a glance at his ingenious and comprehensive mind. To those who have not read his writings, such assemblies as this may excite their curiosity, and send them to enquire what he has done, if any such be present, I will tell them one thing that he has done: he has written a book that will last for ever, or, at least, as long as the use of the Printing Press is in remembrance. That book, citizens, is the “Rights of Man.” In that book is laid down the unimpeached and (in my opinion) unimpeachable principles of Representative or Republican Governments. Principles which none of the Constitutional quibblers and cavillers of above a quarter of a century, have yet dared to grapple with, and which book and principles are now hoisted by republicans and advocates of free discussion, as a beacon to guide the steps of all who are desirous to bring about the emancipation of the world. I cannot perhaps give you a better idea of the value of Paine's writings, than by reading as a contrast a few extracts from the “Leeds Mercury,” a paper edited by one of our neighbours. I know I shall deserve your censure for bringing Paine into such questionable company: but seeing the astonishing avidity with which this weekly dose of stultifying sophistry is sought after; by many of the well meaning, but credulous friends of freedom, I feel myself called upon to notice it.

In his last Saturday's paper, speaking of reform, he says; “but No. 10. Vol. VII.

the work must be set about in earnest." I will now read a few extracts from his "Mercury" of the 30th of last November, that you may judge for yourselves what it is that he is "*in earnest*" to do. The article begins as follows; "It is instructive and consolatory to view the daily conquests of reason over force and prejudice." The subject you will perceive is excellent, and was it not for the last paragraph, his thoughtless admirers might have enjoyed the stupid repast, and he might have pocketed their sevenpences with impunity. This first paragraph contains a contrast betwixt the opponent powers of the Pope, and the powers of such men as "Wickliffe, Huss, and Luther:" the powers in favour of the Pope he describes as "not merely brute strength, but the most formidable league perhaps ever made by force with prejudice and ignorance," and the powers of reason as those of a "pale and sickly philosopher, with no other wealth than a library, and no other weapon than a pen," with this aid reason had "to overcome not only the energy of an overgrown temporal power, but that apparently insuperable barrier to the cause of truth, the impression deeply engraven by superstition on every heart, that reason was not to be listened to in matters of faith, and that free enquiry was impious," and near the conclusion of the paragraph he has these words: "but we have seen that reason was invincible; that its roused fire once kindled was too intense to be extinguished." I doubt not but every person in this room, would be ready to subscribe to this sentence, but shame on the infatuation of those who can be gulled with his inconsistency, we have not done here. There are three more paragraphs on the same subject, I will now go to his last paragraph, and nothing but the fact of reading it from his own paper would give me any hopes of being believed, when I state that this denouncer of "force, ignorance and prejudice:" this assertor "that reason is invincible," put the following sentences in the same paper, "with all our admiration of reason," says he, "we have no intention to deify her, if her triumphs are numerous, the instances of her imperfection are infinitely more so!" now what in the name of common sense can this mean? If his former word "invincible" means any thing, it means that reason is perfect, and will succeed against every opposition; I will put it to any man present whether any thing but the most sovereign contempt for the understanding of his readers, and the most slavish subserviency to his own avarice and the fashionable prejudices of the day, could have prompted him to hazard such a contradiction? (*cries of shame, shame on such a writer*) but you may spare your indignation till I proceed, for his next sentence is (if possible) more gloomily absurd than any I have read; hear it, "At best reason is defective, and when mastered by passion, and warped by prejudice, is often altogether imbecile," (*strong expressions of disgust:*) now is there any half-rational being; nay, is there a parrot that has been learnt to talk, that does not know better than to call any Reason, that is either "mastered by passion, or warped by prejudice." In the third paragraph, speaking of the science of Government, he says, "As knowledge and reason advanced,

the government was gradually ameliorated, with little violence, and by general consent, and that constitution was at length completed, which, notwithstanding its flaws, we consider as the noblest possessed by any people in any age of the world." I wonder at what period Mr. Baines means to fix the completion of this "constitution" with "flaws" or if any thing with flaws is complete, I sincerely wish that both Mr. Baines, and all his petitioning coadjutors, would either cease their prattle about "constitutions," or condescend to tell us what it is, whenever they attempt to do this, they will find that its greatest "flaw" if you will allow me the expression, is in its non-existence.

In his second paragraph, after ridiculing the idea of witchcraft, and stating that the belief in witchcraft does not exist out of the nursery, he writes as follows: "Until long after the reformation, all men believed, and many acted on the belief, that it was just and laudable to propagate their own religious opinions by force." "But now," says he, "not only is this shocking principle abjured by all rational protestants, but the most bigoted catholics hardly venture to maintain it." Now, what are we to think of the audacity of the man who could put this upon paper? If it turns out that his common practice is to both take a part in and recommend the propagation of both political and "religious opinions by force"? What was it that ensured the carrying of the Whig resolutions at York in 1819? Brute force! What was it that he indirectly recommended, when he said "he would rather see No. 55, Fleet Street, shut up as a public nuisance?" Could this mean any thing, but that he wished to propagate the Christian Religion "by force"?

But there are other and more odious means of propagating opinions besides force, means that are more dark, more designing, and more cowardly; when force is used, the victims have at least, the sympathy of mankind; but even this, the God of the West Riding of Yorkshire would deprive us of. If you refer to a file of Mr. Baines papers for the last five years, you will find facts that would astonish the most credulous of his admirers. In his paper of August 20th, 1819, in describing the Manchester murders and the arrival of Mr. Hunt; he says: "about this time, Mr. Hunt (the greatest enemy ever liberty had) arrived, (here Mr. Smith of Skipton declared that he had told Mr. Baines of this to his face.) Now, mark! the time that Mr. Baines said this, was when Mr. Hunt was in solitary confinement on a charge of high treason, just at the time, when it was most likely to prejudice all the special jurymen who read the Mercury against him; and this coward, because Mr. Hunt was never likely to have a chance of answering him, evidently breaks the thread of his narrative to get a stab at him when he is down! again, on the 18th of September, the same year, he says; "we can neither shelter the libels of Carlile, nor the sedition of Parson Harrison." This was very soon after they were indicted, and long before they were brought to trial, here we have the man (if man he can be called) who prattled about ministers prejudging the Queen, and states, "that all men ought to be considered innocent, till they are proved

guilty," and he himself either denouncing as spies, or prejudging all who either happen to differ with him in opinion, or who are likely to fall victims to the system he *pretends* to deprecate! can any person, who has observed such conduct as this, be at a loss to know what it is that Mr. Baines is in such "good earnest" to do? He is in "good earnest" to get "sevenpences." That is the sort of reform that he is in "earnest" about: he, like too many of his "nobly sacrificing" companions, are in want of nothing but the "want of reform;" or that kind of reform which means selling books and newspapers. To prove that this was Mr Baines object, I need only refer you to his conduct as soon as the charge of high treason against Mr. Hunt had dwindled into a conspiracy, and he had made his triumphal entry into London. Mr. Baines then praised this "greatest enemy that ever liberty had" in the most unqualified manner, and yet we can find men who are ready to heap the most fulsome adulation upon Mr. Hunt, at the same time, as they are praising Mr. Baines, the first time I noticed the overbearing aristocratic ambition and insolence of this double dealing, pulse feeling, organ of whiggery was in the spring of 1818. In speaking of a County Meeting then in agitation, he buoyed up the hope of his readers, that Parliament would listen, to a voice emanating from "County Meetings legally convened, at which men of character, talent and influence, should take an efficient lead, not a voice emanating from such miserable assemblages as collected at Spa Fields."

However though that anticipated meeting never was held, these "men of character, talent and influence," have had a meeting at which they "have taken an efficient lead," and what they have led to, it is not worth my while to describe.

I will now go back to what I consider was Mr. Baines reasons for wishing to "shut up 55, Fleet Street". It was because Mr. Carlile was not successful enough to get acquitted. If he had, Mr. Baines would most probably have praised him, and sold his Trial as he did by Mr. Hone: but Mr. Carlile was indicted for selling books which brings the bible into contempt, and Mr. Baines says that Christians believe in it, and we will now see what ridiculous stories these Christians believe in.

// In the "Holy Bible" (commonly called the word of God) "appointed to be read in churches" (by a man) you will find these words, "and God created the heaven and the earth and all that in them is." This may all appear very well to the uninformed pious Christians, such as the matter-destroying Humphreys at Huddersfield, speaks of in his notable pamphlet: but to a half rational being, it only requires one answer, namely, that the Christian idolators must either do away with their devil from the face of the earth, and out of all the "many mansions," they tell us of in their imaginary heaven, or they must acknowledge that both they and their devil are manufactured by the same workman; they may take which side of the question they will, it is out of their own book that I condemn their system, as the most extravagant and ridiculous that ever entered the brain of man. I

need not occupy your time, by any notice of the absurdity of Moses coming again to write an account of his own funeral, that story must sink into insignificance, compared with what the writer of the book of Joshua has given us; he says in the last chapter of the exploits of that "great Captain" and commander (not "of the age") Citizens, no, I will borrow no laurels from Wellington, Joshua was only the commander of the sun and moon, however his historian says, after giving an account of his death, that "Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that over-lived Joshua." Now, if there be any of the children of Israel living at this day, we have an historian several thousand years since, giving an account of what these children and their forefathers have been doing from that day to this, what they are doing now, and what they will be doing to all eternity: this cannot be got over by saying it is a prophecy. It is plainly stated "they served the Lord" not they shall, or will serve "the Lord." And this is out of the book that we are to be fined and imprisoned for bringing into contempt! there is one consolation to be sure, in the midst of all the pious threats of these licensed Atheists from the University. If the bible was held up in its proper light, it would not be in the power of all the men in the world to render it more contemptible, than it really is: another story runs thus, "and the whole earth was of one language and of one speech, "and it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east they found a plain in the land of Shinar and they dwelt there, and they said one to another, go to, let us make brick and burn them thoroughly, and they had brick for stone, and lime had they for mortar: and they said, go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name lest we be scattered abroad on the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, behold the people is one, and they have one language, and this they begin to do, and now nothing shall be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech," the name of this tower was called Babel; another story says, "And God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters, and God called this firmament heaven. Now it is evident these bible-makers had no idea of a heaven as a place for man to enjoy happiness in after death; this is the first description we have of heaven, it is new from the manufactory and a pretty one it is. It is comparing heaven to a piece of old parchment or a sieve through which every drop of rain must pass before it be scattered on the earth; and are we to fall prostrate and make a willing sacrifice of our reason, to such Babel-builders, and world-makers as these? No, we will examine the matter for ourselves. And as to the Babel-building story, we must be more particular, as we are not quite sure that God Almighty's valet de chambre (alias the King's Attorney General) will be content with a heaven of so flimsy a texture as the one I have before described. We will now enquire

what sort of a heaven these babel-builders were going to, where it was situated, and what means they had of getting to it: and here we shall be obliged to make calculations, because brickwork after it has got to a certain distance from the ground, is not to be managed in a careless manner, and as this tower was to have been an extraordinary length if it had been finished, we will enquire a little about the materials, before we go much farther, and here we must enquire what astronomers say about the matter.

It is calculated that the mean distance between the earth and the moon, is 240,000 miles, now suppose a bricklayer's labourer to travel 4 mile an hour, night and day without either sleep, or refreshment it would take him near seven years to travel to the moon, with one board of lime. The mean distance, from the earth to the sun, is 95 millions of miles, this would take a labourer at 4 miles an hour, night and day, near 3 thousand years, to carry one board of lime, (God might well be frightened at such speedy builders,) but we have not done yet, we must now go to the first of the fixed stars, this is calculated 1,710,000 millions of miles from the earth, at the above rate, it would take a labourer above 48 millions of years to carry one board of lime. Suppose we take 30 years to a generation, and suppose all the children to be begotten by ghosts, and born and brought up without any hinderance on the journey, it would take above 1,600,000, generations to reach the first fixed star. If the population of the whole globe were distributed at equal distances, they would be only 1710 millions of miles from each other, but to leave off journeying and come to materials, if they had made the foundation of Babel one fourth of a square mile, in circumference, and made all the earth into bricks and lime, when they had used the whole earth for materials, and left poor Babel nothing to stand upon, they would be little more than half way to the first fixed star, and the next fixed star is supposed to be as far behind the first, as the first is from the earth. Oh! the wonderful faith of a Christian!!! and the *courage* of an "all powerful God" frightened with Babel builders!!! And now for the dexterity of the bricklayers. The earth travels in its orbit at the rate of 68,000 miles an hour, independent of its turning round on its own axis every 24 hours, this motion at the equator is 1038 miles an hour, the before mentioned motion is 140 times swifter than a cannon ball, if we add to this, the many million times increased speed at the point of Babel compared with its speed at the point of the equator or the surface of the earth, its speed would then be almost incalculable; besides the danger of having its top knocked off by coming in contact with the moon. Now suppose there had been a heaven and these Babel builders had been wise enough, when they had made all the earth into bricks and lime, to have fetched the bricks from the foundation of Babel and wall them on at the other end, till they got far enough, unless the earth had lost its motion by changing its shape, they must have been very dextrous fellows that could have jumped into heaven, as the point of Babel passed the entrance. But suppose these builders

could have made or rather created bricks and mortar out of nothing, and suppose there had been as many different religions in the world as there are now, and each sect, not only pointing a different way but actually building as many Babels all in different directions. Then just fancy to yourselves, that you see the earth turning round with all these Babels stuck upon it, (nay do not laugh at the Bible) I have not done yet, you must now fancy that you see the points of the Babels, with all the scaffold poles sticking out, and in the very act of tearing the sun, moon, and stars to pieces as the earth turns round, in the same manner as a willowing machine, or a cloth-maker's devil teazes the wool, or tears the old clothes to pieces, to be worked up over again, and you will then have a miniature description of something nearly as ridiculous as what the Christians believe in. Away with such nonsense, the priests know of no heaven beyond the credulity and the earnings of the people, nor of any soul but the mind that dies with the body. But if they do know of any other, why do they not tell us where these immortal souls come from, or what they are made of, is there a soul manufactory in their Heaven or how are they made; in my opinion the other place is more likely for a forge hammer to work in, but if this were the fact, how do these soul makers know how many they will want. When a woman is impregnated with the seed of man, how do they know whether there will be need of one soul or three, or are they made before hand and kept in readiness; and how does it happen that they are not fit for heaven till after they have been united with a bloated mass of blubber and bile here. These are subjects, a great deal more worthy of notice, than laying the first stone of a church after they have been building a month or six weeks, but with regard to this soul, where does it go to after it leaves the body, oh say they, it goes to heaven; and heaven is beyond the stars; well then at what speed does it go? I should think that the speed of a cannon ball, would be quite fast enough to travel, and at that rate, Adam's soul (according to the Christian's age of the world) is a long way from its journey's end, for although a cannon ball travels at the rate of 485 miles an hour, it would take the souls of Adam and Eve 352 millions of years to reach the first fixed star, thus you see they will be a many years yet, before they get rewarded for eating the apples. If the Bible had said, that the apple had eaten Eve, and that Jonah had swallowed the whale, there is no doubt but the Christians would have believed it. I will now return a little nearer my text, and here I shall find that this all-wise God new nothing of grammar, if he had, he would not have said "the people is one." And that if he had not been very short-sighted he would not have destroyed his omnipotence by coming "down to see" and if he had known any thing of either gravity or astronomy, as he was used to hop and skip about from one planet to another he would never have made use of a common vulgar expression "let us go down," the idea of up and down, has no existence in the minds of men of science. If we go into either a well or a coal-pit at mid-day, and look into space we shall see

nothing but innumerable stars, the same as at mid-night, this may be proved any time of the day, any day in the year, when the atmosphere is clear of clouds. If we could make a pit or a hole straight through the earth, by digging on each side till we meet in the centre and if we then threw in two baskets of earth, the one at each end, there is no doubt but the power of gravity would impel them both to the centre, and force them to remain there, then what idea can we have of up and down, they are words in common use, but like some other words, such as God and Devil, Heaven or Hell, soul and future state, &c. they are words to which all the lazy priests in the world could never fix a proper meaning, if they can let them do it, I here challenge the whole tribe of Babel-building idolators into the field of **FREE DISCUSSION** and if they cannot defend their system by rational argument, they will never be able to do it by fine and // imprisonment.

10 The advocates of political and theological liberty who are bold enough to be honest, and honest enough to be bold.

11 Mr. Richard Carlile the most intrepid advocate of free discussion and may the "Common Sense" which he makes use of in vindicating the "Rights of Man" speedily bring about a real "Age of Reason."

William Driver rose and spoke as follows:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, it may appear presumptuous in me, to attempt to address a company that is much superior in talent to my own, but I should think it a dereliction of duty, if I was to let such an opportunity pass, without paying that tribute of respect, which I owe to the Immortal Memory of that man we are this day met to celebrate. Conscious as I am of the benefits that are to be derived from a candid examination of all the works that have emanated from the pen of the Immortal Paine. He was the man that laid the foundation of political liberty which has taken such a deep root in this country, combined with the "Age of Reason," he struck a death blow to that monster Religion, the enemy to all countries, wherever it has found its way. Though I differ materially from that celebrated character, on theological points, yet I am of opinion that if he had lived at this day, he would have seen the necessity of destroying all systems of religion as being the common enemy of man. But the political principles which he laid down are of such a nature as must flash conviction to the mind of any man who has given them a candid examination, nay I think I may venture to say, without the fear of contradiction, that they are of more sterling worth than all the political volumes that have been written since. He showed the necessity of establishing a pure Representative Republic, which appears to me to be the most rational Government that has hitherto been devised, though it has met the displeasure of some that would be considered the Leading Characters of the day. Yet they have never dared to impeach the principle, although they have been dared into the field of discussion, by the noble and energetic Carlile, he has called upon all men, who profess themselves friends to liberty, either to come up

to the principles of Thomas Paine, or impeach them, but their want of honesty has prevented them from shewing that candour, which might have been expected. They have shrunk from discussion on every thing relative to principle, and attempted to defeat by misrepresentation, and heaping abuse on those who openly advocated the principles that were laid down by the man whose birth we are this day met to celebrate, principles in my opinion which must be advocated by every man professing himself to be a reformer, before any thing like union can be effected. Those who call themselves leaders, must see the necessity of speaking out on this important question, as the only thing calculated to produce that unanimity, which ought to be the characteristic of the Reformers in this country. There are some people who say we ask too much, and that Mr. Carlile is the only political writer that can be found to advocate a commonwealth openly at this time. This I will allow, but it ought to be recollected, that Mr. Wooler himself saw the necessity of advocating the same principles nine or ten years ago, and actually conducted a periodical publication intitled "The Republican," with the motto "I would have every man to be a Republican," such, Gentlemen, was the opinion of Mr. Wooler, at that day. At a private interview, that I and friend Smithson, had with that Gentlemen, after the late county meeting, at York, he declared that they were his opinions at this day; and further he said, that he would republish any thing that might be selected from any article written by him under the title of Republican, and say that they are his opinion at this day. If such be the case I can only regret that he does not speak out more fully on the subject, as it would assist in putting a stop to those bickerings, which have injured the cause of reform. Let me now, Gentlemen, call your attention to that persecuted and injured friend, Richard Carlile, who has already suffered upwards of two months imprisonment more than the time allotted him, for want of money to pay those enormous fines, which have been imposed upon him, fines which have been laid upon him, for no other purpose, than to keep him a prisoner for life, and prevent others from coming forward to assist in destroying that "Hag, Superstition." In the latter point, Gentlemen, you are aware they have entirely failed, as it has only assisted in calling some of the best friends to liberty, to the post of danger, such as our townsman Humphrey Boyle, and others that have followed a similar course. All public writers talk of supporting the liberty of the press, but in my opinion, Mr. Carlile with the assistance of those who have nobly volunteered into the Temple of Reason, have been the only individuals who have done it effectually, as they have not shrunk from a discussion on any one point where the interest of all was concerned. For such a line of conduct I think it behoves every friend to liberty in the "Island of Albion" let his religious tenets be what they may, to come forward to assist in supporting the Liberty of the Press. I know the Republicans have done much in the sacred cause, and I am confident, that they will not let their exertions fail at such a momentous crisis,

It is well known to most of you present, the many robberies that have been practised on Mr. Carlile, under the pretence of securing the fines that have been imposed upon him, but in my opinion it was for no other purpose than to prevent him from paying them, for proof of this, I have only to refer you, to his late trial with the Sheriff, and again to a notice which has appeared in "The Republican" last week, for the sale of that part of the property, which they please not to call libellous. (The article was then read out of "The Republican" No. 4, vol. 7, which contains a partial announcement of the sale of Mr. Carlile's Property.) After all this, Gentlemen, I feel myself in duty bound to make an appeal to this meeting to do all that lays in their power towards meeting, this emergency, an emergency if not met, it is most probable will prove fatal to Mr. Carlile, as such I cannot conclude, without recommending a subscription to be entered into immediately, and the money that is already subscribed, with what may be collected this evening, be forwarded to him to-morrow as it will then be in time to meet his request.

12 Mrs. and Mary Ann Carlile, and may the latter be soon at liberty.

13 Mrs. Susannah Wright.

14 Our brave and enlightened townsman, Humphrey Boyle, and his two companions Holmes and Rhodes.

15 William Tunbridge, the last and one of the bravest martyrs in the cause of Free Discussion.

16 Our active but absent friends.

17 All the unknown friends who have volunteered to serve Mr. Carlile in the "Temple of Reason."

Song—"The Switzerland Bear."

18 Mr. John Hunt, the editor of "The Examiner," and may he prove successful against the enemies of Liberty.

19 Mr. Drakard, the editor of the "Stamford News."

20 The two Afflecks' of Edinburgh, and may they establish Free Discussion in Scotland.

21 The Memory of the much lamented Percy Bysshe Shelley, (author of "Queen Mab" and his friend Williams.

22 Our worthy friend Mr. Joseph Brayshaw, and may he be speedily restored to health.

23 Joseph Swann.

Mr. James Smith of Skipton stated, that he had walked 25 miles to spend the evening with the company who met to celebrate Paine's birth-day in Leeds two years ago, he then made his mind up to come every year as long as the vital spark remained in him. He came last year to James Mann's, and enquired if there was a dinner, and James Mann told him "that Mr. Wasse, Mr. Mason and himself were going to have a pint of beer together," he then asked if there was no other party, and James Mann, told him he believed there was a few refractory individuals, but he did not know were they were at, and on seeing the toasts and sentiments given in "The Republican" he felt most indignant.

24 May the measures of the despots lately assembled at Verona prove the means of establishing liberty throughout Europe.

25 The Republicans and Materialists of the whole world, and may they never cease their endeavours till they have established Free Discussion.

26 The Zetetic Societies, and may they become universal.

Joseph Oates then addressed the company.

Fellow Citizens, with your leave I will take a short view of some of the leading principles promulgated at the last County Meeting held at York on Wednesday last, I will read to you the first resolution passed at that meeting. They say that "the constitution of this country is a government of three independent estates—a limited monarchy, a limited aristocracy and a limited democracy, that each of these had its distinct and peculiar functions and privileges, and that one of these estates cannot unduly influence the functions of either of the others without disturbing that balance which is essential to secure and perpetuate the various advantages which may be derived to the people from a government so constituted;" I do not mean to deny that the present constitution is not a limited monarchy, a limited aristocracy, and a limited democracy, but I will say that it is no constitution founded upon the rights of the people, that what is limited cannot be independent, and that three limited powers cannot constitute an independent government. The whole of the monarchy, the whole of the aristocracy, and part of the democracy now spoken of, are an assumption of power over the rights of the people.

William the Bastard, of Normandy, founded the existing monarchy, by an invasion and conquest of the country. He absorbed all the rights of the people, put the lands into the hands of his soldiers, and verged the name of conqueror into the title of King. Then is not the monarchy an assumption of power over the rights of the people? Has that power from that day to this, ever been delegated by any generation of the people? With regard to the origin of aristocracy, or what is called nobility, it has arisen out of government founded upon conquest, as a reward to the soldiers; and to keep up the succession of great landed property and possession among the individuals of the aristocracy, all the younger branches of those families are disinherited, and thrown upon the public for support, they are cast like orphans on a parish, but at a greater charge; therefore, in monarchical and aristocratical governments, unnecessary offices, places and pensions are created at the public expence. Hence, the origin of aristocracy, and its succession up to the present time. If the accumulated properties were fairly divided among the children, this evil would soon right itself.

With regard to the third estate, called democracy, it appears from history that the Parliament in England, the House of Lords, and House of Commons, was erected by patents from the descendants of the Conqueror. The House of Commons did not originate as a matter of right from the people, to delegate or elect their representatives, but as a grant or boon from the crown; and all the principal officers

in the present day are very improperly appointed by the King or his ministers, such as Judges, Sheriffs and Magistrates. Look for instance how they have acted in the trials of Mr. Hunt, Mr. Carlile, and others: I ask then, when such officers are nominated and appointed by the above persons, where is the limited democracy with distinct and peculiar functions and privileges? Are not those persons generally found acquiescing in all the tyrannical measures of a corrupt government, because they derive their offices from a source opposed to the rights of the people. We never shall, in my humble opinion, be a happy people, until the nation shall be so far enlightened to unite, without a state of anarchy, for the purpose of having a real and pure Representative System of Government, wherein all officers from the chief magistrate down to the beadle, shall be elected by the people, and laws defined and made simple, so that the way-faring man cannot err, by legislators similarly chosen:—I conclude by proposing the health of Mr. Cobbett, and may he speedily see the necessity of advocating Republican Government.

There were several other Songs sung and Toasts given, after which the meeting broke up highly gratified with the evenings entertainment.

TO MR. JOHN DRAKARD, EDITOR OF THE STAMFORD NEWS.

SIR,

Peterborough, Feb. 8, 1823.

OF all the distresses and prosecutions that we at this time witness in our native land we think that there is none more deserving our attention and support than that of Mr. Carlile, we will therefore thank you to remit the following small Subscriptions from a few Friends to Mr. Carlile.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
A Friend to the Cause of Liberty	2	0	An Enemy to Religious Prosecutions	2	0
A Friend to Freedom and a Lover of Truth	2	6	A Friend to intrepid Mr. Carlile	2	0
A Hater of Persecution	0	6	A Lover of Free Discussion	1	0
A Friend	1	0	Carlile, and Confusion to his infamous Oppressors	1	0
A Lover of Truth	1	0	One who rejoices at the fall of Superstition	1	0
A Hater of Priestcraft	1	0	A Friend	1	0
One who thinks Opinions ought to be free on every subject	1	6			
A Believer in One God	2	6			

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE LIFE OF
ST. PAUL.*(Continued from page 224.)*

CHAP. IX.

Reflections on the Life and Character of St. Paul.

SUCH is in a few words the life of St. Paul whom we are justly entitled to regard as the principal founder of the Christian Religion. In fact it appears that without him, the ignorant and rude disciples of Jesus, would never have been able to spread their sect. In order to succeed they required a man of greater information and activity, more enterprising and enthusiastic, and possessing more dexterity than any of those, who composed the apostolic college, before it was joined by Paul. In him we see all those qualities united, which made him of all others, the most fitted to lay the foundation of a new sect. He knew how to profit by the lessons he had received from Gamaliel; from him he had acquired a profound knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures, and learnt the art of explaining them in an allegorical sense, or, in other words, the Cabala by which we may find in these books whatever we desire.

It can hardly be doubted that our Apostle, possessed much energy and ambition. We first see him persecuting the disciples of Jesus with ardour; and with the view of gaining his ends, and making court to the priests, stoop to the trade of informer and spy. Apparently he expected by these means to advance himself, but seeing the futility of these ambitious hopes, and probably despised and neglected even by those whom he had thus zealously served; he changes his batteries, threw himself upon the enemies side, and seeing the abilities of those whom he found at the head of the new sect, he felt how easily he could eclipse them, and constitute himself the chief.

There is reason to believe that these were the true motives of Paul's conversion; a mind of his stamp in declaring itself on the side of the new sect, at once satisfied its vengeance and ambition. It was then very easy for Ananias to make him listen to reason. The apostles were not slow in discovering the value of their new acquisition; they acknowledged the superiority of such a man; they foresaw the

advantages the rising sect would derive from his knowledge, his active and persevering genius and intrepidity of character. Thus we see the new Apostle, from the moment that he was enrolled in the Apostolic College, perform the principal part, and throw his coadjutors completely in the shade. These contented with preaching at Jerusalem, seldom showed themselves at a distance from this city, whilst our hero, continually traversed the provinces, made spiritual conquests, and strengthened in a hundred places the cause of the disciples of Christ, now become his own. In a word, Paul now becomes the soul of his sect; his enthusiasm extends itself; he braves danger when it is necessary to increase the number of his partizans; his ambition is flattered by the empire that he has gained; crosses, fatigues, imprisonments, and blows are not capable of abating his ardour; determined to succeed at any cost he sacrifices every thing to the desire that he has of extending those opinions, which give him the power of reigning over the minds of men. He knew well that no empire upon earth is more grateful or stronger than that of opinion.

Nothing appears that ought to induce us to regard the activity, obstinate constancy, and courage of Paul as miraculous or supernatural effects. We find the same zeal, and frequently the same intrepidity and obstinacy in all those strongly animated by ambition or any other passion. Obstacles but serve generally to irritate energetic minds, more and more, they make a merit of braving dangers; torture, and even death, cannot restrain those who are thoroughly enamoured with any object in which they have placed their happiness.

St. Paul has been held up to us as a man divested of all personal views. His humility, constancy, disinterestedness, and patience, have been advanced, as undoubted proofs of his sincerity, and pure zeal for his religion. But we say that all these things prove nothing but his violent desire for success. The preachers of an infant and oppressed sect, destitute of power, must always announce themselves with much suppleness, mildness and humility; an ambitious man must in order to gain men's hearts, effect much moderation and appear disinterested; besides he is sure of losing nothing, when he shall succeed in establishing his empire over the mind. Do devotees ever neglect their spiritual guides? In short patience and constancy are necessary in all enterprises; every man who would crown a great adventure with success, ought to avoid hastiness. Nevertheless if we turn to

the history of St. Paul, we shall see that patience was not always his ruling virtue; he very often spoiled his plans by his eagerness, and especially he alienated the minds of the Jews, rather than converted them to his opinions. He would perhaps have succeeded much better with them, had he kept a better government over his impetuous temper, at which it appears his coadjutors often revolted. Devotees generally mistake that for zeal, which is but a vice in their character, and an imprudence in their conduct. The bitter reply that Paul made to the High Priest, proves that our Apostle was not excessively enduring, and forgot, at least, on some occasions his Christian patience.

(To be Continued.)

SONG.

PATRIOTS, who to fame aspire,
Freemen, who your rights desire,
Animate your breasts with fire,
For Death or Liberty!
Tyrants now their armies send,
Meet and swear they will defend,
And help each other to the end,
That we their slaves may be.

Who can now the Spaniards see,
Boldly rearing Freedom's tree;
A Nation struggling to be free,
And not assist their cause?
Now, they have the standard shown,
Let us make their cause our own,
To all the world it shall be known
We fight for equal laws.

Despots long have ruled the lands,
Issued out their dire commands,
Spread abroad their murdering bands
To trample Freedom down.
Now their race is nearly run,
Let us not the contest shun,
But make an end of every one
That wears an useless crown.

W. V. H.

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ERRATA.

In No. 7, p. 209, Subscriptions from Hull, for Mrs. Wright, "Jeffries and Scroggs," 6s. *read* 6d.

In No. 8, p. 256, Subscriptions received at Water Lane, for Mr. Beaumont 1s. *read* 10s.

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